gleaned from an examination of the editions published in 1921 and 1933.

The working language of the congress was German, and the major reports were given in that language. Some contributions were made in Russian, however, and a few delegates spoke in French or English. In general, translation into German was provided, although at least one Russian-language report was not translated. A German-language stenographic transcript was taken, which frequently failed to record remarks made in Russian. A separate transcript was made of the Russian-language contributions.

A pamphlet on the congress was published in Russia in 1919, but it contained only a limited selection of documents.[53] The resolutions adopted by the congress were published in 1920, with a few editorial changes, in a German-language edition.[54] The next year a German-language edition of the proceedings was published, which contained the resolutions in their unedited form.[55] There were many gaps in this edition, apparently because the editors lacked access to most or all of the Russian-language transcript. The Russian-language edition of the proceedings published that same year did not fill the gaps; it was merely a translation of the German-language version, with some editing to clarify obscure passages in the German text.[56]

In the early 1930s the publishing house of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union undertook a complete re-edition of the proceedings of the Comintern congresses. The volume on the first congress, published in 1933, included several items left out of the 1921 editions of the congress proceedings, along with several reports submitted to the congress in writing. This edition also falsified the record, however, by omitting favorable references to Trotsky in the report by Sadoul (see chapter 2).

During the next five years the majority of the Bolshevik leaders from Lenin's time were purged and executed

as part of the bureaucratic transformation led by Stalin of the Communist Party and the Soviet state. The writings of these purged Communists and the records of their activity as working-class leaders were suppressed. As part of this falsification of history, after publication in 1934 of the record of the second congress, the Soviet edition of the Comintern congress proceedings was discontinued. It has never been resumed.

In the last thirteen years, new editions of the first congress proceedings have appeared in French, Spanish, and Serbo-Croatian.[57] The most ambitious of these is that published by the Institut za medunarodni radnički pokret (Institute on the International Workers Movement) in Yugoslavia as part of its edition of all seven Comintern congresses, the last of which took place in 1935. It restores the passages deleted from Sadoul's report in the 1933 Russian-language edition.

The congress proceedings published in 1921 were accepted by all its participants and used without challenge in the early Communist International as the record of what was said and decided there. More recently, some historians have questioned the authenticity of the published proceedings, claiming that no stenographic record was taken at the congress.[58] Yet these proceedings bear all the characteristic marks of stenographic transcriptions, including run-on sentences, grammatical incongruities (which have not been preserved in the translation), breaks, and gaps. Moreover, in three cases (the national reports of Eberlein and Platten and the report of N. Osinsky [Obolensky] on the international situation), the congress records published in 1933 contain two versions, one of which is clearly a stenographic record, while the other is an edited version.

The sole documentary basis on which to challenge the proceedings' validity appears to be a statement by Eberlein in 1929 that "the speeches were not taken in shorthand, but, as it were, reconstructed." According to Eberlein, this explained why there was no record of his having spoken out at the congress in support of immediate formation of the International.[59] Eberlein, who in 1928 had come under attack from the now-bureaucratized Comintern leadership, had good reason to attempt to escape his reputation as the one Communist who had opposed the International's formation. There is no sign from before 1929 that he claimed to have made such a statement at the congress. The accuracy of the congress proceedings on this point is borne out by the account of the British journalist Ransome.

Except as otherwise noted, the translations of congress proceedings in this book are taken from the German edition of 1921. They have been edited on the basis of a comparison with the Russian editions of 1921 and 1933. The resolutions, however, have been taken from the 1920 German edition of congress decisions. Significant differences between this text of the resolutions and that in the 1921 German edition of the proceedings have been indicated in footnotes. The congress report by Trotsky is taken from the 1924 Russian-language edition of his writings. Except for the passages by Lenin, all material has been newly translated. Lenin's articles and speeches are taken from the most recent English edition of his collected works. The spelling and punctuation have been changed to conform with current U.S. usage, and minor changes have been made on the basis of a comparison with the fifth Russian-language edition of his writings.

Of the additional material found in the 1933 Russian-

language edition of the proceedings, four items have not been included in this edition. One of them, a statement by Fernand Loriot, is printed in another volume of this series.[60] Two others, the written versions of the national reports delivered by Eberlein and Platten, differ only slightly from the stenographic transcriptions of their oral reports included in chapter 2. Finally, a large portion of Osinsky's oral report on the international situation is duplicated in the resolution adopted on this topic. With these exceptions, the present edition includes all material in the 1933 edition. In addition, it contains a written report and a speech by the Polish delegate, which were not published until 1969.

Where there is evidence that a report appended to the 1933 edition was actually delivered during the congress proceedings themselves, it has been inserted by the editor at the proper point in the proceedings. In cases where such reports appear to have been submitted only in written form, they have been placed in chapter 11.

Chapters 1 to 10 correspond to the ten agenda points at the congress itself; the chapter headings and headings of individual reports are by the editor. All italicized emphasis is taken from the original text. Italicized comments in parentheses are those of the congress secretaries. The first name or initials of each speaker has been supplied. All other interpolations by the editor of this volume appear in brackets. Place names are given as they appear in the original text; modern place names are supplied in brackets at the first appearance.

The record of the congress itself has been supplemented by an article by Lenin on the significance of the Communist International, which is printed as a prologue to this volume. The editor has also supplied an appendix containing a number of brief assessments of the congress by leading Bolshevik participants published in *Pravda* the day the congress adjourned, along with two later comments by Le-

nin. Where relevant documents have been printed in other volumes of *The Communist International in Lenin's Time,* this is noted in footnotes. A glossary has been provided of individuals, publications, and political currents mentioned in the documents in this volume. A chronology lists important dates relating to documents in this collection.

John Riddell
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